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593 between mother and son, when the boy puts on the *upi*, in fact he is then just beginning to be taken out by his father on fishing and hunting expeditions, and to be a real companion to him. It is [584] the father who chooses his son's first wife, often while the son is still quite a small boy. An old father will not infrequently live with his married son. I have known a man to beat his wife severely because he thought she had not taken sufficient care of his father during his own absence. A daughter comes in for a fair share of her father's affection, but I did not notice, in the families which I kept under observation, any marked preference for the daughter [578] over the son. In more than one instance there were apt to be quarrels between a man and his adult daughter, while I did not hear of any marked dissensions between a man and his adult son. One rather striking case was that of a married daughter living a very short distance off, who seemed to consider it no business of hers to come and look after her old father when he was ill, leaving him consistently alone until he died. The villagers did not comment on this neglect as if it were anything unusual.

601 *Tamanē* is not a term of address. A child calls his father *pa*. When he is grown up he may use some secondary name, as in the case of his mother.

3. *Tsoa-: pasu-*.

601 The term *tsoa-* is applied by individuals of both sexes to the
604 mother's brother, the mother's mother's brother's son, and the mother's mother's sister's son, i.e. to the males of the mother's generation on her side of the house, excluding those introduced by marriage. These men call their sister's (or their cousin's) children *pasu-*, irrespective of the children's sex. The man who counts for most in this relationship is the mother's eldest living brother, who is officially head of his sister's household, and possibly of the whole lineage, and is a person of considerable importance, especially if the lineage be *tsumaun*. The extension of the term to the mother's mother's *brother's* son seems curious, as he is, of course, normally of a different clan and does not belong to the lineage group. There are sufficient examples in my genealogies, however, to authenticate this. The term is not applied to any relative on the father's side of the house, the males of the father's generation on his side of the house being known as *tama-*.

604 The *tsoa-* does not necessarily enjoin discipline, or dispense

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III

MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONS

124 585 [797] NO marriages took place at Kurtatchi during the nine months of my residence. Had there been any, they would have been conducted according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, since the village now has a resident native Mission teacher. If I had gone there a month or two earlier, I should have been able to witness the final stages of the marriage of Kakari, Pinari's nephew and heir, to Muben, a girl of rank from the village of Baniu, but I did not hear of this until too late. The account here given was obtained from a group of people who had themselves taken part in the events they described, of which at least the marriage ceremony itself was sufficiently recent to be clearly remembered. It was told in public, the audience, as usual, chiming in at intervals to add some detail omitted by the narrators. During visits to other villages, I obtained what information I could about the ritual as performed there, thus eliciting some local differences which are noted in their appropriate places. The main lines of the procedure are, however, similar throughout the area dealt with in this book. I was able to be present at some of the preliminary proceedings conducted on behalf of different individuals, but for the sequence of events and for the bulk of the detail I have been obliged to rely on my informants.

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO MARRIAGE

●584 [436] A boy may be betrothed even before he has put on the *upi*, i.e. when he is less than seven or eight years old, and a girl when still quite a baby. The boy's father makes a series of visits to various villages, and when he finds a girl who takes his fancy, he brings a spear, puts a string of *beroan* (ceremonial currency of shell disks, see p. 446 and Pl. 67) round it, and offers it to the girl's mother. If the betrothal meets with her approval, she takes the spear and puts it up in the rafters of her hut, where it remains as a sign that the girl is promised. The father of the boy and the mother of the girl chew the betel-mixture together, and arrange a time when the boy's mother will go and chew betel in the girl's village. The boy

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is not told anything about the betrothal. It is usual for the father of a boy who is *tsunaun* to choose for his son's first wife a girl who is his equal in rank, but there appears to be no hard and fast rule on the subject. A *tsunaun* girl may be betrothed to a commoner if her mother agrees, but this is somewhat unusual, as it involves the handing over, at a later stage in the negotiations, of a larger amount of ceremonial currency than a commoner is likely to have at his disposal.

At the time arranged the boy's mother goes to the girl's village, taking with her some leaves of the plant called *unun*, which were used for women's girdles before they possessed loin-cloths, and the variegated leaves of *iag* (*Coleus Blumei var.*). This plant is grown along with taro in the gardens and is supposed to ensure a good crop, so it is possible that the use of its leaves in betrothal may have some reference to the bride's future fertility, but my informants did not say so. It is used also in the ceremony for a pregnant woman (see p. 142). The boy's mother decorates the girl with these leaves, putting some round her neck and some round her waist. The two mothers chew the betel-mixture together. Except for this, nothing is eaten at this part of the proceedings, and there is no dancing. Word goes round to all the villages that the girl is betrothed, so that no one else will try to get her. But she still remains with her mother, and does not go near the boy's village as yet.

When she is about seven or eight ('as big as Kiram's wife Buin', who is about that age), the boy's mother goes to the girl's village and paints the girl's hair with *oin*. If the boy's mother is dead his mother's sister undertakes this duty. When she has finished painting the girl's hair, she may, if she wishes, take the girl home with her. She first chews the betel-mixture with the girl's mother, and fixes a time for her to come and visit her daughter. The girl then accompanies her future mother-in-law home, and the boy now sees his bride for the first time. This first meeting is called *komau*. The girl goes inside the boy's mother's hut, but she stays near the woman's entrance, and does not go near his bed (if he has not yet put on the *upi* and is therefore still sleeping there). She must not speak to the boy; the two are very shy with one another.

After three or four days agreed upon have passed, the girl's mother comes to the boy's village, accompanied by other women from her own village. Any woman who wishes may join in this

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584 visit. The girl meets the party outside her mother-in-law's hut, and they all go inside it by the women's entrance, except the girl's mother, who must remain outside on the women's verandah. The boy enters the hut by the men's entrance. His mother is already inside. All the women wear their hoods; the girl must also have a hood, though in the ordinary way she does not need to wear one at this age. A hood is put on the head of the boy. The assembled company all sit down in the hut and chew the betel-mixture. The boy's mother cooks taro for her guests, and provides coco-nuts, but no pig-meat. The time for eating pig has not come yet. When they have all eaten as much as they wish, the boy takes off the hood he has been wearing, but the girl keeps hers on. The girl's mother must not come into the hut at all, she sits outside on the women's verandah and is given her share of food and areca-nut there. Presently they begin to talk about going home. All the women who came with the girl's mother on the visit are given coco-nuts and taro and areca-nuts to take back with them.

The girl stays behind with her husband's mother, who must keep her however bitterly she may cry. She stays for one or two or three months. If she is a very little girl she generally stays quietly, but an older girl often frets for her mother, and if her village is near enough she not infrequently runs away home. (Tagoal ran away to Ruri several times.) If this happens, the girl's mother must take ceremonial pudding (*menak*) and bring it with the girl back to her mother-in-law. At the end of this visit the girl goes back to her mother and lives with her for some time, the duration of which apparently varies with the girl's development and at the discretion of her mother.

583 When the girl's mother thinks it is time for the ceremonial currency to be handed over (usually when her daughter's breasts are just beginning to enlarge, but sometimes earlier than this), she prepares a large quantity of food, fish, opossum, coco-nuts, taro, *menak*, and also pig. She must not ask in words for the currency, but she sends a message to the boy's mother that she is cooking, and soon after a crowd of men and women from the girl's village come to the boy's village, bringing the food that has been prepared. The food is brought to the boy's mother's house, and when she sees the pig-meat among the other things, she knows that she is expected to produce the currency soon. The people who have brought the food stay awhile in her hut, and she must

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provide them with taro and *menak*, &c. When they have eaten, they go back to the girl's village.

Soon after the boy's mother has received this intimation by means of the offering of pig-meat, she cooks pieces of pig and taro and wraps them up into packages with leaves, lays them in a *kōbū* (receptacle made of the spathe of the areca-palm), and sends it to the relative she expects to provide her with the necessary ceremonial currency in respect of the marriage of her son. This is generally her brother, the boy's *tsoa*, but if he cannot produce enough a similar *kōbū* containing food is sent to other male relatives until enough is provided. If necessary, the relatives of the boy's father may also be called upon. If the recipient of the *kōbū* cannot provide any currency-strings, he must not eat any of the food, but must send the *kōbū* back with its contents untouched. If he can help, he eats the food sent to him, and presently brings to the boy's mother such strings of *imun* (currency consisting of porpoise or flying-fox teeth, see p. 448 and Pl. 67) or *beroan* as he is prepared to contribute. It is not handed over to the girl's people at once, but remains for a time in the boy's mother's hut. Sometimes it takes a long time to collect the necessary amount.

The amount required is more or less governed by convention, but was said by my informants to be fixed by the girl's father. In actual fact, I found that other relatives, including her mother's brother, especially if he lived in the same village, also had a say in the matter. In this, as in many other matters, practice is more elastic than theory. It varies in different districts, and also according to the position of the girl. For a girl who is *tsunaun* a much larger amount changes hands than for a commoner. For Tagoal, Kiram's wife, it was ten fathoms of *beroan* and ten of *imun*, both porpoise and flying fox. A fathom of *beroan* has a value to the natives of about 5*s*. in our money, and one of *imun* of either kind is worth about £5, in their estimation, so that the arbitrary conventional value of the currency handed over in respect of Tagoal's marriage amounted to about £52 10*s*. For a commoner a usual amount is said to be four fathoms of *beroan* and two of *imun*. But it may be more, and it is said sometimes to be as little as one string of *imun* and one or two of *beroan*.

In answer to a question as to what would happen if the boy's people could not collect the amount asked for, my informants said the ceremony would be deferred until they had. Asked further, 'But

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she is preceded by a man carrying a wooden figure (*kaisa*) representing a woman, carved out of soft wood, about three feet high, and realistically painted, no physical features being omitted. A long pole-like handle is carved in one piece with the figure, by means of which the figure is carried on high like a standard. It is set down beside the door of the hut, and after the bride has gone in, it is taken to the *tobar* belonging to the men of the bridegroom's mother's clan, and carefully stored there. This figure, although that of an adult, represents the woman's future child; its purpose is to ensure that she will soon conceive. It is female because it is desirable that her first child shall be a girl. Female children are much desired in this community because, descent being matrilineal, the children of a woman who is *tsunaun* will themselves be *tsunaun* and carry on the line, whatever the position of their father. When once the figure is placed in the *tobar* it may not be taken out again, for if a woman were to see it the child would die. It remains in the *tobar* until the child is fully grown, when it is destroyed. But the hold of this belief is weakening, and on my expressing a desire to purchase one such figure which was shown to me, I was permitted to do so, on condition that I carried it away carefully swathed in wrappings, and did not allow any of the native women to see it, a promise which I took care to keep. It is reproduced in Pl. 8*a*.

There are certain men who know how to carve these figures. Unless the bridegroom's family numbers one of these among its members, they have to pay one string of *beroan* and give a pig to the man who makes it, or they may pay another six strings of *beroan* in lieu of the pig.

The use of these figures is rapidly dying out on the island of Buka and its adjacent islets, owing to discouragement by the missionaries on the ground that they are obscene. On Bougainville, very similar figures are made for use in the *watawuf* ceremony (see Pl. 28), but so far as I could ascertain they are not used in the marriage rites in that region.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO MARRIAGE

Occasion	*Transactions*
1. Betrothal, when both are children, the girl often quite a baby.	Father of boy presents spear hung with one string of *beroan* to mother of girl. Betel-mixture chewed.

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Occasion	*Transactions*
584 2. First visit of mother of boy to mother of girl. Soon after 1.	Aromatic plants brought by mother of boy to decorate girl. Betel-mixture chewed.
3. Visit of boy's mother to take back girl for her first visit. When girl is about 7 or 8 years old.	Paint for head of girl brought by boy's mother. Betel-mixture chewed.
4. Visit of girl's mother to see her daughter in mother-in-law's hut, 3 or 4 days after 3.	Food and areca-nut provided by boy's mother for girl's mother and accompanying women. No pig given at this stage.
Girl remains with mother-in-law for a month or more.	If she runs away, her mother must make *menak* for the boy's mother and must bring her back.
583 5. Request for handing over of ceremonial currency. At discretion of girl's mother, but usually at first signs of breast development.	Girl's mother sends food, including pig-meat, to boy's mother, the pig being a hint that it is time to produce the currency.
6. Boy's mother collects ceremonial currency from her brother and other male relatives.	Boy's mother sends pieces of pig to relatives who are expected to help provide the currency.
7. Visit of boy's people to girl's people to hand over currency, and to bring back girl for long visit. As soon as enough currency has been collected.	Agreed amount of ceremonial currency handed over for division among the girl's relatives. One string given as personal gift, secretly, by boy's mother to girl's mother. One string given by girl's mother to boy's relatives 'to pay for the boy'.
8. During the next few years girl spends much time with her mother-in-law, returning to her mother only for occasional visits.	
9. Special visit of girl and her relatives to boy's mother to pay for *tagoan*. Sometime during 8.	Girl's mother and relatives bring *menak* and a live pig to boy's relatives, and small amount of ceremonial currency.

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836 to me—there were none at Kurtatchi—the unmarried girls indulged in amours as freely as their married contemporaries, but, like them, were desirous of avoiding pregnancy, fearing that they would then be under some difficulty in obtaining a husband later. But in places where there has been little white contact, I incline to think, though the evidence bearing on the point is rather inferential than direct, that pre-marital intercourse is not, and never has been, prevalent among these natives, to any great extent, in respect of either males or females.

882 834 In this area the relations between the sexes before marriage must be considered in the light of two circumstances which have a very definite influence upon them. The first is the elaborate hedge of taboos and restrictions surrounding the boys wearing the *upi*, that is to say, all the boys between the ages of about ten and about eighteen. These regulations are—or were at the time of my visit—still strictly binding, or, if broken, so much care is taken that the delinquents are seldom found out. Their effect is to keep the boys completely away from the women and girls, from which it follows that sexual advances are forbidden. One or two cases were reported to me of boys indulging in sexual intercourse while still wearing the *upi*, but they were spoken of with bated breath, and clearly considered very great enormities and quite exceptional. [684] This, I believe, indicates the actual position and was not merely the statement of the conventional standpoint. In the olden days, discovery would have been punished with death for both parties.

582 [164] The second factor to be considered is that boys, and more especially girls, are generally betrothed while still quite small children. I was told of girls who had been betrothed 'before they had yaws', which indicates that they were hardly more than a year old, since this tropical skin disease falls to the lot of practically every child about the age of one or two years. My informants told me that the match was generally arranged by the boy's father, but in practice I found that it was just as likely to be the boy's mother's brother who took the initiative, and that other people also might, and often did, take a hand in the matter. One day, while I was visiting the village of Tabut, a man from Ruri came over to see if he could get a certain young woman as a wife for his sister's son. He was prepared to give two strings of *imun* and some *beroan*, the amount of which he did not state. She was married to a man who is working at Timputs, but he said the man had divorced her,

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though he did not know why. Her relatives would not consent to the match, they said her husband might want her back. As it was near the end of my period of residence, I did not hear whether anything further was done in the matter. In another case, in which all the principals were personally known to me, that of Kakari's marriage to Muben, the match was suggested by Muben's *tsoa* (actually the mother's mother's sister's son, but equivalent to the mother's brother). He lived at Kurtatchi, but actually belonged to Baniu, where Muben's mother lived. He was very ambitious, and clearly wanted the marriage because it allied him to the most important family in the district. That is to say, while the initiative usually rests with the boy's family, it may, on occasion, be taken by some relative of the bride's. Again, Pinari, who liked to exercise his authority, saw to it that he had a say in the case of betrothals of any of the young people in his village, even of those not closely related to him, and as he was *tsunaun tʃan*, deference was paid to his views.

The betrothal is not absolutely binding until the ceremonial currency has been handed over by the boy's people. This may be done while the girl is still quite small, but it is not necessary, or usual, to do so until her breasts begin to develop. Once arranged, a betrothal is seldom broken, even before the currency has changed hands, and to break it after that is a serious matter. A case came to my notice where a man fell in love with a girl who was already betrothed, and eventually ran away with her. Although the ceremonial exchanges connected with the prospective marriage had not been completed, the affair was regarded as a serious breach of customary rule, but it was finally settled by a payment of ceremonial currency from the lover to the girl's affianced husband. The couple have been living very happily together for several years. They have one child, a boy about a year old, whom both adore. It seems to be a genuine love match, a somewhat rare occurrence among these people.

At the time of betrothal, the boy may be considerably older than the girl, and may have finished his puberty ceremonies and taken off the *upi*, or he may be only slightly older and continue to wear the *upi* for several years subsequently. All except the youngest boys wearing the *upi* at Kurtatchi were already betrothed. The marriage is never consummated till the puberty ceremonies are finished and the *upi* removed, and usually not until the girl has

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582 experienced her first menstruation, though there appear to be
[585] some exceptions to this latter rule. A youth who is *tsunaun* will
565 have more than one wife assigned to him at an early age. They
582 are called husband and wife from the time of betrothal. Kiram,
595 a lad of fourteen or fifteen, had for his first 'wife' Tagoal, a girl of perhaps ten or twelve (see Pl. 7 *a*). For her the ceremonial currency had been handed over. His second 'wife', Buin, was about seven or eight, and was still spending most of her time with her mother, the currency not having changed hands as yet.

574 During the years between betrothal and the marriage ceremony,
584 the girl pays long and frequent visits to her husband's people, or
883 may, in some cases, be taken over by them altogether, particularly if her mother is not living. But if the boy still wears the *upi*, they are kept rigorously apart; there is no chance of their getting to know each other at all, and when the time comes for the marriage to be consummated they are still practically strangers. Some girls fret a good deal on their visits to their 'in-laws', others appear to settle down quite happily. As regards the routine of her life, the early betrothal makes little difference to a girl. She works for her husband's people instead of for her own, and looks after his babies, if he is already married, instead of the babies of her mother's family. She is, as a rule, well treated by her prospective mother-in-law, and drops into place with the girls of her own age in the village, who treat her as one of themselves.

BEGINNING OF MARRIED LIFE

591 After the final marriage ceremony, the young couple usually settle down near the husband's people, sometimes actually in his mother's hut, to begin with. Kakari and Muben were still living with Matēv nine months after their marriage, in spite of Matēv's repeated hints that it was time he built a hut for himself in the vacant space next to hers. But sometimes, under pressure from the girl's people, the couple will live in her village, especially if she be a person of importance. There are enough instances of both practices to suggest that it is not correct to describe these natives as either 'matri-' or 'patrilocal', but that there is freedom of choice, with the balance towards the custom of living in the village which was the husband's home before marriage. In either case, they will, in years to come, spend a certain amount of time in the village which was the home of the other partner.

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dead for rather less than a year when I was at Kurtatchi. She had not remarried, and seemed to have no wish to do so. The general opinion was that she was a bad wife and because of her reputation for hardness would not easily get another husband. As the daughter of Matĕv and mother of a future *tsunaun*, she has a position in the village in her own right, and Pinari, her *tsoa* (mother's brother), sees to it that she does not want. Here, again, the failure of the marriage seems to have been the fault of the woman, but in this case only one of the pair is personally known to me.

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CHOICE OF A MATE

The prearranged marriage makes it impossible to study the motives that enter into the choice of a mate in the case of young people. They have no choice in the matter. This applies to a man's first marriage always, and in the case of a *tsunaun* probably to the second and perhaps to the third. An older man takes other wives selected by himself according to his own preference, and if the woman he decides upon be young, she has probably little say in the matter, provided her relatives agree to the match. But if she definitely dislikes him, she may prevail on her people not to sanction it. Not infrequently a man chooses as his second wife the full (usually younger) sister of his first. This seems, as far as I could judge, to be a successful arrangement as a rule. I knew fairly intimately several families in which this had been done, and the two sisters seemed to get on very amicably together. In all the instances which came under my personal observation they each had a hut, but were next-door neighbours. In the case best known to me, the husband lived most of the time with the elder sister, but treated both well. There were two children of the first wife's living, the elder adolescent; three others had died. The second wife had one child; two had died. The two households worked and played together very pleasantly, so far as an outsider could judge.

584 595

The women would not admit that they had any say at all in the matter of a husband, even apart from the early betrothal. It did not occur to them to rebel against the customary procedure. But more than one man told me that one of his wives asked him to take her because she liked him so much, although, since I was never able to get this confirmed by the women, I cannot decide how much the statement owed to male vanity, or its denial to female

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584 bashfulness. As a matter of fact, it was obvious, though not avowed, that a considerable amount of choice could be exercised by a woman, if desired, in that she could very probably get the man she wanted to enter into a clandestine association with her, which might eventually lead to marriage, as will be shown in a subsequent paragraph.

832 In discussing with the men what physical attributes they considered desirable in their women, it emerged that they prefer a light skin, specially one with a reddish tinge, which is much less common than the darker browns. The effect produced by cicatrization (this is described in detail on pp. 426–32) is also admired. 'That is a fine girl, she has marks all over her body,' is a typical expression of admiration. Upstanding, hemispherical breasts were also mentioned as adding to a girl's attractiveness. This characteristic is only to be found in girls who have not yet borne a child, after this the breasts sag and rapidly lose their beauty. Several girls singled out by name by various men of the village as being especially attractive physically, confirmed the verbal description given above (see Pl. 10).

It was more difficult to get the women to describe their ideal of male beauty. They do not like their men too thin, or too old. Some said they preferred men with little or no hair on their bodies. But, in general, they seem to attach more importance to the attainments of a man as a hunter or fisherman than to his physical attributes.

MARRIAGE OF BROTHER'S WIDOW

587 Additional wives are not infrequently acquired by virtue of the custom that the brother of a dead man has the first claim upon his widow or widows, for whom he is not required to pay over any ceremonial currency. He is not absolutely obliged to take her. If there are several, they may be distributed among the brothers, or among other relatives also standing to the dead man in the relationship *kiar*—usually his ortho-cousins (mother's sister's sons). None of these need pay over any ceremonial currency in respect of the wives thus acquired by them. Whether a man takes over his dead brother's wives or not, depends partly upon whether he likes them, and partly on whether he can afford to keep them and their children. Sometimes other considerations weigh with him also. Patchip of Tabut has not married his brother's widow,

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837 attention. She herself behaved throughout as if nothing was the matter, and the affair blew over.'

In this case, public opinion, both male and female, was definitely against Tarubi, who was held responsible. Although most of the people who condemned her were carrying on—or had at some time carried on—similar affairs of their own, it seemed to be regarded as bad form to overdo it. Matarē, in discussing the case with me, said in so many words that it was all right to have a love affair with one person, but it was bad to have more than one. On another occasion similar judgement was passed against a man for the same [753] reason. He had a reputation for carrying on with a number of women, and when he developed a bad mastoid abscess, it was held to be due to 'poison' made by some of the men whose wives he had 'stolen'. The general opinion was that he richly deserved it; the sympathy generally shown to a person who is seriously ill was not accorded him, and no one, except his old mother, seemed to be sorry when he died. But perhaps, in both cases, the chief crime was to be found out!

COURTSHIP AND LOVE-MAGIC

• 584 The advances which lead up to such intrigues as have just been described provide the only occasion in this society for anything of the nature of courtship, since the pre-arranged marriage of children leaves no opening for it, and the demand of an older man for a woman he fancies as his second or subsequent wife can hardly be so described. In some cases efforts are made by the man to ingratiate himself with the woman so that she will be willing to marry him. But these cases were few, or at least so I gathered from discussions both with men and women.

832 A man who wishes to gain the favours of a woman decks his person with aromatic plants, or rubs them on his skin, trims his hair, and decorates himself with paint. All these things may be done by anybody at any time, so his appearance need excite no remark. He finds an opportunity, often during a dance, to indicate his desires to the woman, and if she is willing, they steal away into the bush. He does not trust to his own personal charms to achieve this end, but supplements his own efforts with an appeal to higher powers to help him, or at least with the use of the appropriate 'medicine'. This is called *ēto*, the same word as is used for the preparations used in hunting, fishing, and other magic, as well as